

PRIMITIVE MAN

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RACIAL MENTALITY NUMBER

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Future numbers of *Primitive Man* will contain 16 pages each, instead of 8 pages as hitherto. Some of the shorter contributions from the field will be published in *Primitive Man*. The present number is a double number.

(Second Printing -- May 1969)

FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF CONFERENCE

THE fourth annual meeting of the Catholic Anthropological Conference was held at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., on Tuesday, April 2nd, 1929. Two sessions were held, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. The following extract from the Secretary's report read at the morning session gives an account of the membership and progress of the Conference.

"At present, twenty-two missionary orders and societies and four mission aid societies are cooperating in the work of the Conference. The status of the membership is as follows: Life members, 4; Contributing members, 8; Active members, 66; Total membership, 78. The eight-page bulletin, *Primitive Man*, is complete for the year 1928, and the first number for 1929 is now being written. It is being issued in an edition of 750 copies. As for the series of technical Publications, we have published two: one in January, by Rev. Joseph Meier, M.S.C., on "Adoption Among the Gunantuna"; and the second, by Dr. Stephen Richarz, S.V.D., on "The Age of the Human Race in the Light of Geology." The galley proofs for the third publication were sent back to the printer yesterday and the manuscript for the fourth goes to the printer within the next ten days. We have on hand about 500 pages of excellent manuscript material, and have promises of several additional contributions which we believe will measure up well to the standard required by the Conference. Inasmuch as we have begun the technical Publications we feel freer now to ask for further memberships from lay and clerical Catholics and others who are interested.

"In general, the progress of the Conference fulfils the hopes entertained at its inception three years ago. Our main task for the next three or four years will be the financial one. In view, however, of the increasing Catholic interest in problems of research and of the increased Catholic realization of the importance of participation in research, we can look forward confidently to support of the work already inaugurated."

After some discussion it was decided to increase the size of the small quarterly bulletin, *Primitive Man*, from eight pages to sixteen pages, publishing therein some of the shorter contributions that come in from the field.

In response to the proposal of the Semaine Internationale d'Ethnologie Religieuse for the establishment of cooperative relationships between the Semaine and the Catholic Anthropological Conference it was voted to approve such cooperation.

The number of members on the Executive Board was increased from five to nine, with the provision that hereafter three members should be appointed each year to serve three-year terms. The following officers were elected for the coming year:

President, Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D.; Vice-President, Rev. Leopold J. Tibesar, A.F.M.; Secretary-Treasurer, Rev. John M. Cooper,

Ph.D. Executive Board: Very Rev. Dr. Michael A. Mathis, C.S.C., Rev. Albert Muntsch, S.J., and Rt. Rev. William Quinn, to 1930; Rev. Francis P. LeBuffe, S.J., Rev. Joseph Thoral, S.M., Rev. Dr. John Wolfe, to 1931; and Rev. Dr. Stephen Richarz, S.V.D., Dr. Anna Dengel and Rev. Dr. J. B. Tennenly, S.S., to 1932.

At the morning session the following papers were read:

The Religion of the Navaho Indian, by Rev. Berard Haile, O. F. M., and *The Origin and Early History of Religion* by Rev. John M. Cooper. Father Berard has spent the last twenty-seven years among the Navaho.

At the afternoon session an address was given by Rev. William J. Kerby on *Anthropology and the Social Sciences*, and this was followed by five reels of motion pictures illustrating the culture of the Jivaro Indians of the Upper Amazon by the Rev. Carlo Crespi, S.C. Father Crespi had just returned from six years of residence among the Jivaro, having been sent there by his Superior for the express purpose of making a thorough anthropological study of this highly interesting people. The motion pictures were taken by him.

RACIAL MENTALITY

As we glance over the works of travellers and explorers among primitive tribes or browse through such voluminous collections of strange customs as Frazer's *Golden Bough*, an impression is apt to be stamped in upon us more or less unconsciously that uncivilized peoples live in a world of thought utterly different from our own and that in general they are an utterly different breed from us who pride ourselves upon being civilized. Looked at from a distance and seen through such spectacles, primitive peoples do indeed appear strange and bizarre to us. Tools and weapons, clothes and ornaments, food and shelter, art and recreation, social and religious customs, and all the things that go to make up culture type are in many respects poles removed from our own. We are inclined therefore to conclude that these peoples themselves are of a mentality radically different from our own, and that the cravings, the feelings, the desires and the ambitions that stir within their hearts are of another stripe than those that stir within our own hearts.

We have, however, to recall that travellers and explorers, and, for that matter, professional ethnologists, tend, as is natural, to make note of in the field, and to set down in their publications, more the strange and unusual things in primitive life than the things in which both primitive peoples and we are one. Moreover, culture is like a garment. Garments may change and differ, but change and difference of garment does not mean change in the man himself. And, as a matter of fact, when one actually lives among a primitive people and shares their daily life, what strike him most about them are not the outer things in which they and we differ but the inner and more basic things in which they and we are the same.

The average missionary or other sojourner among primitive peoples gets about the same impression that Darwin got when he was first brought into close personal contact with primitive man in the flesh. "I was incessantly struck," he wrote in his *Descent of Man*, "while living with the Fuegians on board the Beagle, with the many little traits of character, showing how similar their minds were to ours." What Hose said of the pagan tribes of Borneo after twenty-four years spent in intimate contact with them may be with all truth applied to primitive peoples in general. "We have no hesitation in saying that, the more intimately one becomes acquainted with these pagan tribes, the more fully one realizes the close similarity of their mental processes to one's own. . . . The Kayan or the Iban often acts impulsively in ways which by no means conduce to further his best interests or deeper purposes; but so do we also. He often reaches conclusions by processes that cannot be logically justified; but so do we also. He often holds, and upon successive occasions acts upon, beliefs that are logically inconsistent with one another; but so do we also" (*Pagan tribes of Borneo*, ii, 222).

I. Emotions

Emotionally, primitive man is often supposed to be more demonstrative, less inhibited, more the creature of instinct, so to speak, than we. Such generalizations can hardly stand the scrutiny of fact. About all we can safely say is that some primitive peoples on the average, and some individuals among many primitive peoples, seem more demonstrative and less controlled emotionally than the average civilized white.

In such matters, as in most others, there are very profound differences between one primitive people and another and there are equally profound differences between individuals of any given tribe. Most generalizations about primitive man, like generalizations about civilized man, require careful qualification. Individual differs from individual in temperament and emotions as among us, and, all things considered, probably just as much as among us, while the differences between tribe and tribe of even the same continent are frequently as great as or greater than the differences between peoples of civilized and peoples of uncivilized culture levels. At any rate, anthropology knows nothing of that mythical being, the utterly carefree savage.

Among many, if not most, primitive peoples, the individual is met at almost every turn by tabus and prohibitions regarding food, travel, marriage, economic, social, and religious activities, every phase of daily life. These tabus and prohibitions demand from him a high degree of rigid control of his emotions, his impulses, and his cravings. In many respects, uncivilized man is apt to be under far more inhibitions than is his civilized brother, and more commonly curbs himself severely to conform to them.

A Catholic may be called upon to do a slight amount of abstinence and fasting during Lent, on Ember Days, and on Fridays, and may think he is doing a great deal. He is not called upon, however, as is the adolescent among many of our American Indian tribes to undergo for religious ends absolute fasts from all food and drink that may last from a day to a week or ten days. Again, while we recognize and conform to certain restrictions upon freedom of choice in marriage, we have nothing to be compared, for example, with the central Australian custom by which a man belonging to one of the eight classes into which the small tribes or bands are divided is limited in his choice of mate to the women of one only of the other seven classes. Among many savage peoples conjugal abstinence is *de rigueur* throughout the whole period of gestation, of lactation (which often lasts two or three years or more), or of both. These examples could be multiplied indefinitely. All these tabus and regulations among primitive peoples demand emotional and impulsive control of a high order. The average savage appears to bow rigorously to such control, and this ordinarily without grave psychic complexes or conflicts resulting, although we are beginning to get evidence that such conflicts and complexes may sometimes be found among savages as among ourselves.

II. Sensory Powers

As to the sensory and intellectual powers of primitive peoples, we have much yet to learn, but it may be said in general that to date no clear evidence of marked differences in inherited racial abilities has been obtained by even the most exact measurements.

Passing travellers often comment upon the supposedly marvellous keenness of sight, hearing, and smell they have noted among savage peoples. The American Indian's skill at tracking is often cited as an evidence of his extraordinarily fine powers of vision. When travelling with Indians in the north, the white man of average vision is nearly always the last to spy out moose or deer along river banks and lake shores, the last to identify from afar the telltale patch of dark brown or russet outlined against the green that means big game to shoot and fresh meat for dinner. Such exact tests and measurements, however, as have been made of the sensory powers of primitive peoples do not show very appreciable differences from the powers of civilized whites, and even such differences as are obtained are patient of more interpretations than one.

A number of studies of primitive peoples have been made to test their relative keenness of sense. The two chief series of tests are those that were made by Rivers, Myers and McDougall during the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits and by Woodworth and Bruner upon the natives assembled at the World's Fair in St. Louis, although a number of other scattered tests have been made by Rivers, Seligmann, and others.

The net results of these tests are about as follows: Uncivilized peoples appear to have slightly keener vision than civilized whites, but the latter score a little better on the average in tests for hearing than do the former. The white man is slightly more sensitive to pain. As to differences in powers of touch discrimination, tested by bringing the two points of a compass close together on the skin, the Papuans tested excelled Europeans, but other peoples tested gave about the same results as with whites. Keenness of smell among whites and others tested seems to show no appreciable difference.

Even where differences are manifested as results of the tests, there is much overlapping. The Indians and Filipinos tested for keenness of sight by Woodworth averaged about ten per cent higher than whites, and 65-75 per cent of them exceeded the white average, yet no one Indian or Filipino exceeded or even equaled the record of a few individuals found in the German army. Similarly a minority of the Indians tested felt pain at much lower pressure than did the bulk of their fellow Indians and at about the same pressure as did the average white, while a fair minority of the whites showed no greater sensitivity than did the average Indian.

There is, moreover, much question as to the interpretation of the gross results obtained by the tests, as well as of the sensory feats recorded by observers in the field. In other words, are we dealing here with innate inherited differences of race, or are the differences as recorded due more to training and environment? As for the test results, the ear at least is susceptible of training in discrimination and perception along certain lines, as is well known, for example, to linguists and musicians. What looks like extraordinary keenness of vision is often just a matter of training, inference, and knowledge. One of the common birds of the northeastern Canadian woods is the Olive-sided Flycatcher. It is only about an inch longer than our English sparrow. Yet a man of quite ordinary vision can, *if he knows its habits*, identify it at a distance of about two hundred yards. At this distance the Olive-side appears as a minute and barely distinguishable speck on the extreme tiptop of a dead spruce. It is a matter of common knowledge that sailors of average visual powers will distinguish a sail on the horizon where the landsman will see nothing.

To sum up as regards relative sensory powers, our present evidence seems to point to the conclusion that on the whole there is little if any appreciable difference between the average sensory keenness of civilized whites and of their uncivilized brethren. Such differences as seem to obtain are in large measure, and perhaps entirely, explainable as due to interest and training rather than to native or racial abilities. "The general conclusion which may be drawn from the available evidence is that pure sense-acuity is much the same in all races in the absence of definite pathological conditions such as errors of refraction and ruptured ear membranes, and that the frequent

superiority of the savage over civilized man in his recognition of what is going on around him in nature is due to his trained powers of observation, powers usually limited in scope but very highly developed in special directions" (Rivers, in *Brit. jour. of psych.*, 1905, i, 391).

III. Intelligence

Two further questions regarding primitive mentality call for attention. Do primitive people think as we do? Have they the same or a lower degree of intelligence?

a. Difference in Kind?

Is there a difference in kind between primitive man's thought processes and our own? Lévy-Bruhl believes there is, and his theory has had some vogue in non-anthropological circles. According to him, primitive mentality is at the same time "mystic" and "pre-logical,"—mystic in the sense that primitive peoples are chiefly preoccupied with what we should call supernatural forces, influences, and qualities in things and beings; pre-logical in the sense that they are not much concerned, as are we, to avoid contradictions, but are, the more often, quite indifferent to and undisturbed by obvious contradictions.

The theory runs afoul of two great groups of facts. First, civilized man himself is often,—shall we say, normally?—far from logical in his thinking and judgments, and is very apt, like Lewis Carroll's Queen, to believe three impossible things before breakfast each morning. Secondly, the savage is by no means always or normally illogical or mystical. He is so, no doubt, in some things, or even in many things. So are we. But, in the greater part of his thinking and life-activities, he is governed quite as much by logic and horse sense as is the average practical civilized man of affairs, and in his outlook on life and nature, is, more commonly than not, quite as non-mystic and humdrum and matter-of-fact as a Main Street hardware merchant. About all one can safely say is that some uncivilized tribes and individuals are more "mystical" and less logical than some civilized peoples and individuals. What differences exist are purely differences of degree, not of kind.

Lévy-Bruhl has seemingly been led astray onto a path that many another good man has followed before him. From a few facts he has generalized utterly beyond them, and has predicated of primitive man as such what is true of primitive people merely in some of their thinking, as it is true of us in some of our thinking. Had he ever lived among a primitive people, he would probably never have brought forth his theory. The theory has not, to the writer's knowledge, been accepted by a single field anthropologist, European or American.

b. Difference in Degree?

If there is no difference in kind between primitive and civilized mentality, is there nevertheless a difference of degree? Do races differ in native

intelligence? If so, have we the means at hand for determining which races are superior and which inferior?

That there may be differences in mental caliber between the three major races, the Caucasoid, the Mongoloid, and the Negroid, and that there may be differences between subdivisions within any one of these three races, is quite possible, or even probable. Among the wide differences in culture between races and subdivisions thereof are many that directly or indirectly tend to increase or decrease the relative number of offspring of higher or lower intellectual inheritance. For instance, polygamy under some conditions, particularly where it is practised only by the leaders and "prominent citizens" of a given tribe or people, perhaps or probably tends to raise somewhat the average intelligence of the tribe, for it encourages a higher birth rate among such leaders who are on the average apt to be of a relatively higher inherited mental level than the general run of the tribesmen.

It is, however, one thing to hold to the antecedent plausibility or probability that differences in average mentality may exist between races or between subdivisions thereof. This is possible or probable, even if not strictly demonstrable. It is quite another thing to determine by accurate scientific methods that this or that particular race or people is on the average either superior or inferior to any other particular race or people. Some day we shall perhaps develop a technique so refined and so controlled that we shall be in a position to draw conclusions with reasonable confidence or with complete assurance of their correctness. But in the present state of our technique and of our available evidence, it would seem from a critical analysis of the facts we possess that scientific caution demands suspension of judgment.

Our three chief present sources of evidence on the subject are: differences of cultural attainment, educational achievements of children, and the results of intelligence tests.

At first blush it looks reasonable enough to draw the conclusion that level of culture is a fair index to level of general intelligence. By their fruits you shall know them. A moment's reflection, however, makes it clear that culture is a very unreliable guide to intelligence. First of all, we know that any given culture is the resultant of many factors, hereditary and environmental. The native intelligence of the people is only one out of many factors. To conclude, therefore, in any given case from cultural level to intelligence level is a highly hazardous process. Instead of entering upon an analysis of the factors of culture, it may serve the same end to give just a few examples—they could easily be multiplied—of the fallibility of culture as an index of intelligence.

When the Egyptian was building his pyramids around 3000 B. C. the peoples of the Grecian and Italian peninsulas were still on the whole barbarians, yet these same peoples, without any demonstrable change in their

inherited mentality, had within a short three thousand years and less attained cultural heights in many respects undreamed of by the pyramid-builders. When the great Greco-Roman civilization was in its zenith, our ancestors of northern Europe were on the whole barbarians, yet these same barbarians, without intelligence level change which can be even plausibly established, have within two thousand years and less attained heights of material and scientific culture which are utterly beyond the attainments in the same line of the classic peoples of the Mediterranean.

It is sometimes maintained that inasmuch as neither the American Indian nor the Negro has ever made any great outstanding contribution to human culture, they must be of inferior mentality to our own. The thesis is a very rickety one, although some good men have held it at least tentatively. As for the Indian, in parts both of Central and South America,—among the Maya, Toltec, Aztec, Chibcha, and Inca,—the beginnings of a civilization of great attainment and of still greater promise were in evidence before or at the time of the coming of the white man. Had we not so ruthlessly destroyed this springtime budding of native Indian culture, it is more than probable that it would have grown to a maturity quite comparable to that attained in the golden periods of the civilizations of Egypt and of Mesopotamia and later of the northern Mediterranean area.

As for the Negro, it is true that he has made no great new cultural contribution, although some, like von Luschan, have inclined to give him credit, at least provisionally, for the invention of iron smelting. But even so, concluding from this failure in achievement to lack of mentality as the factor responsible therefor is an extremely risky process. Up until the Christian era and for many a century thereafter, in fact practically up to the dawn of the modern period of history, the tall longheaded blue-eyed Nordics who have taken so creditable a part in recent human cultural progress had made no outstanding contribution to human culture. Instead they had been consistent borrowers from the peoples farther south, and rather slow and tardy borrowers at that, keeping on the average about a thousand years behind their Mediterranean brethren to the south. What contributions they have made have been made in the main during the last four or five centuries.

If we accept Doctor Richarz' 30,000 years as a *minimum* age of the human race, how short seem these five centuries! For thirty millenia or more the branch of the human race that developed into our modern Nordics would have contributed practically nothing of importance to human culture. In view of this, how unconvincing must appear any attempt to argue that, because the Negro has not made contributions of importance in the past, he lacks mentality.

From still another angle, this time within the circle of primitive culture itself, we may readily see how little we can rely upon culture as a criterion of racial intelligence. Scattered here and there on the tip ends of continents

and archipelagos, in deep forests and jungles, or in remote deserts or mountain fastnesses, we find what are commonly called the marginal peoples. They are peoples who not only lack the first rudiments of farming or herding but whose culture in general is marked by extreme dearth and simplicity. They are on the lowest rung of the cultural ladder. They are as far below the uncivilized farming and herding peoples as these latter are below modern Europeans and Americans. Some examples of such marginal peoples are: the Fuegians of extreme South America and the hunting nomad Indians of Northern Canada; the Bushmen and Negrillos of southern and central Africa; a number of widely separated tribes and tribelets in southeastern Asia, Australia, and the Oceanic archipelago.

Notwithstanding the extremely low and simple culture of these peoples, nearly all sojourners among them have testified to their native intelligence. The following are just two examples of such testimony.

Sir Harry Johnston, referring to the diminutive Negrillos of Central Africa, speaks of "the vivacious intelligence, mental adroitness, almost fairy-like deftness they exhibit when dwelling with Europeans. No one can fail to be struck with the mental superiority they exhibit under these novel circumstances over the big Negro whose own culture in his own home is distinctly higher than that of the forest Pygmies" (The Uganda protectorate, ii, 537).

Mathew speaks in the same laudatory tone of the Australian aborigines, the people who have so often been set down as among the lowest in culture of the human species. "For a people so low in the scale of civilisation the Australians exhibit powers of mind anything but despicable. They are very keen observers, of quick understanding, intelligent, frequently cunning, but, as might be expected, neither close, nor deep, nor independent thinkers. In schools, it has often been observed that aboriginal children learn quite as easily and rapidly as children of European parents. In fact, the aboriginal school at Ramahyuck, in Victoria, stood for three consecutive years the highest of all the state schools of the colony in examination results, obtaining *one hundred per cent of marks*. While among Europeans the range of mental development seems almost unbounded, with the blacks its limit is soon attained. An inherent aversion to application is generally an impassable barrier to the progress of an aboriginal's education; in addition to which there is usually the absence of sufficient inducement to severe mental exertion" (Eaglehawk and Crow, 78).

Mathew's work was written in 1898 and there are some implications in the foregoing quotation to which recent psychology might take exception, but his seventeen years of residence among the Australian blacks gave him excellent opportunities for getting an estimate of their mentality. What he adds regarding the native children, namely, their progress in white schools and their limitations, brings us to a consideration of the second chief criterion listed above for judging the relative mentality of races.

In recent years a great amount of attention has been given to the measurement of relative school achievement by the peoples and races within the area of our white civilization. For lack of space we are here waiving this phase of our problem. We may return to it in another issue. We shall instead confine our attention to the results achieved by the children of primitive peoples under ordinary white schooling.

Children of scores of primitive peoples have been educated in our white schools. It is generally agreed that they make about the same progress in the elementary branches as do our white children, at least up to a certain point. Very commonly however they appear to drop back or to lose momentum somewhere between their tenth and fifteenth year. An example will serve to illustrate the point. The example is purposely taken from one of the tribes which ranks among the very lowest in the cultural scale, one of the simplest of the marginal peoples mentioned previously.

Among the lowest in culture of the world's peoples were and are the Andaman Islanders, the negrito inhabitants of the Andaman archipelago in the Indian Ocean. When first discovered, they did not know how to make fire, although they used fire. They are the only people we know of who lack this rudimentary art. "Opportunities for comparing the mental capacity of the children with those of other races have been few, but these have tended to show that, up to the age of 12 or 14, they possess quite as much intelligence as ordinary middle-class children of civilised races when competing in subjects in which they have been instructed in common; but the precociousness of intellect which has so often been remarked in the very young does not appear to be long maintained. Dr. Brander, who was for some time in charge of the Andaman Hospital, gave it as his opinion, that as a race 'they are not deficient in brain power; it rather lies dormant and unused in their savage state'; and he mentions the case of an aboriginal patient of 12 years of age, who had been educated in the Ross Orphanage School, and who, in spite of his tender years, could yet read English and Urdu fluently, as well as speak and write in both these languages, retaining also a knowledge of his mother tongue. He had, besides, acquired a fair knowledge of arithmetic. I may add that this is not an exceptional case, for I could instance others, and one lad in particular, who was his superior" (Man, On the aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, 27).

Numerous facts, of which the foregoing are merely random samplings, would suggest that Dr. Brander's deduction is, in the main at least, justified. What is taken for stupidity among savages is more commonly just an education along lines quite different from our own. We of occidental urban life would be set down as pretty stupid by any savage if we had to hunt our dinners as many a nomad tribe must hunt them. They and we are differently trained to fit into quite different ways of life.

It has, however, sometimes been held that the tendency, as illustrated in the above quotations from Mathew and Man, for the children of primitive

peoples to slow down or to come to a standstill educationally at from ten to fifteen years of age is an indication of average lower mentality among savages. This is indeed a possible interpretation of the facts. There are nevertheless other equally or more probable interpretations.

First of all, a vast number of our own children suffer the same slowing down process in preadolescent years. Again, what appears on the surface as a slowing down of progress may well be due to social, rather than to intellectual, factors. Interest in book work may easily wane, and with interest may wane progress. The savage child may lose interest in school progress because he may not see where it is leading him or of what use it may be to him. Or he may well recognize that his academic attainments do not give him free entrée to white association or to equal social and economic opportunity, on account of racial attitudes of antagonism or superiority on the part of whites. Moreover, he may well feel that the future lies for him in return to his kin and native friends and to their ways rather than in conforming to the white man's ways for which book learning is preparing him.

We need much more detailed information, upon the significance of the slowing down process among preadolescent whites and upon both the process and its significance among the uncivilized, before we shall be able to determine the exact bearing of the facts upon the question of relative racial mentality. As the facts regarding school progress stand today, they appear to point rather toward approximate racial equality than toward appreciable racial inequality. This conclusion must however be held as tentative and provisional only, and as subject to revision or confirmation from future more intensive studies.

The third criterion, that furnished by intelligence tests and IQ's, is the major battleground today. Nearly all anthropologists and probably the majority of psychologists would incline to hold that to date nothing has been definitely determined through intelligence tests regarding the actual innate mental superiority or inferiority of one race or people as compared with others. Some psychologists, however, think otherwise.

The amount of material available on racial mental tests has grown rapidly in the last few years. Between 1917 and 1924 alone forty-five different studies were made of seventy-three racial groups from the three chief races and from the various peoples included within each race. So far as gross results are concerned, the tests made to date almost always give to the civilized whites a higher intelligence rating than to groups of civilized or uncivilized Mongoloids and Negroids. The difference in IQ as determined by the tests is slight or negligible between civilized whites and Chinese and Japanese, but is quite appreciable, generally speaking, between civilized whites on the one hand and both negroes and American Indians on the other.

While the gross results are pretty uniformly in favor of the civilised whites, concluding from this fact alone to superior mentality among the civilized white peoples is on all sides recognized as unjustifiable. The interpretation of the facts is extremely difficult, not to say quite baffling. Many other factors besides native intelligence are known to influence the intelligence ratings. Before concluding that the gross differences are due to differences in innate racial mentality, it becomes imperative to devise means for canceling out all other factors that affect the gross ratings.

Some of the more common disturbing factors are the following: Differences in social status or in cultural background; differences in education; differences in language ability; differences in degree of interest in or emotional reaction to the tests themselves; differences in degree of racial mixture. It is well known that differences in social status, cultural background, education, and language ability may profoundly modify ratings (Freeman, *Mental tests*, ch. xvii). Differences of interest in and emotional reaction to the tests themselves have not been submitted to very exact measurement because of their subtle nature, but that they are very important cannot be questioned (Hurlock, in *Pedag. semin.*, 1925, xxxii, 422-34).

As for racial admixture, such tests as have been made, for instance, upon negroes and Indians, and for that matter upon groups from European countries, have, with extremely rare exceptions, made no really objective and scientific attempt to determine by exact anthropological methods either the degree of white blood in the racial admixtures or the extent to which national origin represents racial type. There is, for instance, no such thing as an Italian or French *race*. Italians and Frenchmen are of many physical types, ranging from Nordic through Alpine to Mediterranean and Dinaric, and probably with other racial mixtures not easily isolated and catalogued. Race is quite a different thing from nationality. A group of children of Italian national origin may be of many different races. Race is purely a physical fact. Nationality has nothing to do with it.

To illustrate the unreliability of the intelligence tests as indices of racial superiority or inferiority, we may select four type studies of American Indians that probably make the best approach to exactitude among the Indian studies,—a best approach, however, that is very far from being exactitude itself and very far from enabling us to eliminate the non-racial factors and to isolate the factor of absolute racial intelligence.

Garth has given the National Intelligence Tests, Scale A, Form 1, to 1,050 full blood Indian children of Plains, Southeastern, and Southwestern Plateau tribes. These children were in grades four to eight inclusive. The median of the 1,050 IQ's was found to be 68.6, a very low one, it is true, but one that has to be interpreted in the light of many other facts. The data on chronological age and on degree of Indian blood were accepted from United States Government records.—records which, in the case of Indian children,

fall considerably short of the accuracy demanded by scientific standards. Moreover, length of schooling has to be taken into account. "There is a constant tendency for IQ's as found to increase with education"; the median IQ was found to be 50.0 for fourth grade children, 66.1 for fifth grade, 70.2 for sixth grade, 75.6 for seventh grade, and 80.0 for eighth grade. Finally, as Garth himself admits, "because of differences in social status and temperament we cannot conclude that our results are true and final measures of the intelligence of Indian children" (*Jour. of applied psychology*, 1925, ix, 382-89).

Garth's earlier study of 1921 and 1922, some of the results of which are included in the foregoing one, are no more conclusive. The same National Intelligence Tests, Scale A, were given, in the San Antonio (Texas) Schools and in the United States Indian Schools at Chilocco, Oklahoma, and at Albuquerque, New Mexico to the following: 307 Mexicans, whose ancestry was largely of Spanish blood and of various Mexican Indian tribes; 126 mixed-blood Indians representing a mixture of whites and Plains and Southeastern Indians; 176 full-blood Plains and Southeastern Indians; 249 full-blood Pueblos; and 85 full-blood Navajo and Apache.

Garth's results were as follows. "The measure of intelligence indicates the following sequence: first, mixed-bLOODS; second, Mexicans; third, Plains and Southeastern Indians; fourth, Pueblo Indians; fifth, Navajo and Apache Indians. The ratios are respectively: 127, 107, 100, 88, 77, using the Plains and Southeastern Indians as the base. Estimates of social status indicate the same sequence as the foregoing. The average amount of education of the blood groups runs in the same sequence except that the Pueblo Indians have slightly more of this than the Plains and Southeastern Indians." In other words, the differences in intelligence scores may have been due either to differences in native intelligence on the one hand or, on the other, to differences in social and cultural background or in amount of schooling, to say nothing of other possible factors. Even exact studies of amount of Indian blood were not made. As the data stand, no conclusion as to correlation of intelligence with degree of Indian blood would be scientifically justified (*Psychological review*, 1923, xxx, 388-401).

Fitzgerald and Ludeman gave the National Intelligence Tests to 41 Indian children in St. Mary's Mission School, Springfield, South Dakota, and the Otis Group Intelligence Scale to 42 high school students in the Santee Normal Training School, Santee, Nebraska. The young people tested ranged between the ages of ten and twenty-five but most of them were from fourteen to twenty years old. All but two of the Springfield children were in the fourth to ninth grade inclusive. The median score of the IQ's of all tested was found to be 87.5.

Is this difference of 12.5 below whites significant of lower mentality? Fitzgerald and Ludeman found pretty clear evidence that cultural back-

ground and language disabilities contributed considerably to the lower relative score. For instance, as regards cultural background: "The logical selection, test 3 [Scale A—Form 1], in the National Intelligence scale, exercise 17 reads: Crowd (closeness, danger, dust, excitement, number). The examinee in the test is to underline two words which tell what the thing always has. In a great number of instances the Indians underlined the words 'danger' and 'dust.' The word, 'excitement,' was also underlined frequently. Perhaps the history, environment, and experience of the Indian have been such that 'danger,' 'dust,' and 'excitement,' are to him the logical elements of the crowd. . . . Perhaps you have seen a crowd of Indians moving or encamped on the prairie. Dust is certainly the accompaniment of the crowd in such a case" (*Jour. of comparative psychology*, 1926, vi, 327-28).

"The lowest accomplishment in any test in the Otis scale was shown in the proverb test, the solution of which depends upon knowledge of, and experience in, the use of the English language" (*ibid.*, 325). An element, we may add, even more important probably than knowledge of English enters into proverb tests, where there is question of American Indians. The use of proverbs is a culture trait widespread over the Eurasian and African continents, but quite foreign to aboriginal American Indian culture, in fact, practically unknown on the whole American continent. It seems therefore significant that it is just in the proverb tests that the Indian examinees scored lowest.

In proverb test of the Otis scale, twenty common English proverbs are given, in two groups of ten each, and under each of the two groups are written twelve simple statements, in mixed order, ten of which explain the proverbs. The examinee must identify the twenty statements which explain the respective proverbs.

It appears interesting, too, that the highest scores were made in the memory tests, test 10 in the Otis scale. In these tests thirty questions must be answered about a story that has been read to the examinees. Inasmuch as storytelling is so native to American Indian culture, we may at least plausibly surmise that in a memory test of this kind, cultural background as well as memory proper may influence the gross results.

The importance of the factors of social background and language is further shown by our most recent Indian study, that by Jamieson and Sandiford on southern Ontario Indian children, mostly of Iroquoian-speaking tribes. The median IQ, for instance, obtained by use of the National Intelligence Test, Scale A, Form 1, was 79.8, while that obtained by use of the Pintner Non-language Mental Test, a test designed to eliminate language handicaps, was 96.9, only 3.1 points below the white median (*Jour. of educ. psychol.*, 1928, xix, 540-41).

So much in brief regarding the American Indian. As regards relative white and negro mentality, we may merely add that in the present state of

our evidence it seems quite as rash and uncritical to accept as indications of racial differences the results of psychological tests given to negroes as it would be in the case of Indian children. Most of the same disturbing factors enter in. Besides, in some tests given to negroes, particularly but not exclusively in the Army Tests, some negro groups have averaged higher than some white groups. In the Army Tests, for example, the northern negroes appreciably outranked the southern negroes and outranked too some white groups (Cf. Yoder, *Jour. of educ. psych.*, 1928, xix, 463-70).

One final point needs merely be mentioned. In racial testing, some individuals from racial groups that rank lowest on the average, register strikingly high scores, some of them having IQ's of 125, 135, and even higher.

All things considered, we are on safer scientific ground, if, given the present facts available, we suspend judgment as whether any particular race is proven to be of inherently higher or lower average intelligence than any other. And the same holds as regards the evidence concerning the various racial, and still more the various national, groups within the white or Caucasoid race.

Quite apart from the emotionally biased views of racial chauvinists of the Nordic and Gobineau schools, with their "farrago of bad logic, bad biology, and bad faith," to use Lowie's somewhat vigorous language, there still remains room for legitimate difference of view in interpreting such test results as we have. Most of us however would prefer, for methodological reasons if for no other, to suspend judgment or to subscribe to the conclusion formulated by the psychologist, Estabrooks (*American anthropologist*, 1928, n.s. xxx, 474-75), at the end of his recent unpublished exhaustive review of the whole problem. "Might I state my conviction that as yet we have not even approached a scientific proof of superiority of one race over another in intellectual attainments. The problem is immensely complex and is one on which the anthropologist and biologist have really as authoritative an opinion as the psychologist. Tests must be used in conjunction with exact anthropometric measurements, language handicaps must be done away with, and even then we have the well-nigh hopeless problem of culture background. Will authorities agree that any test, non-linguistic or otherwise, can be prepared by the American and legitimately used to gauge the intelligence of the Chinese?" And, we may add, of the Indian, of the Hindu, of the Negro, or of any other racial or national group.

As was said many years ago by a Johns Hopkins professor when asked about certain biological scientific puzzles: "We shall know when we find out."

J. M. C.

Selected Bibliography on Racial Mentality

In addition to the sources quoted in the preceding article, the following may be recommended as introductions to the several phases of the problem.

a. **Sensory powers.** The best and most inclusive source studies are: on the Cambridge tests,—Reports of the Cambridge anthropological expedition to Torres Straits, Cambridge, vol. ii, Physiology and psychology, part i, Introduction and vision, by W. H. R. Rivers, 1901, part ii, Hearing, smell, taste, etc., by C. S. Myers, and W. McDougall, 1903; on the St. Louis tests,—Racial differences in mental traits, by R. S. Woodworth, in *Science*, Feb. 4, 1910, n.s. xxxi, 171-86, (cf. repr. in Kroeber-Waterman, Source book in anthropology, U. of Cal. press, Berkeley, 1920) and The hearing of primitive people, by F. R. Bruner, in *Archives of psychology* (Science press), July, 1908, no. 11. Another important detailed study is Observations on the senses of the Todas, by W. H. R. Rivers, in *British jour. of psychol.*, Cambridge, Dec., 1904, i, 321-96. Excellent reviews of the general field may be found in Woodworth, *i.e.*, and in R. Thurnwald, *Psychologie des primitiven Menschen* (in G. Kafka, *Handbuch d. vergleichenden Psychologie*, Reinhardt, Muenchen, Band I, 166-69). Further sources, but not all, are given by Thurnwald, *i.e.*, bibliogr., 307-20.

b. **Intelligence.** L. Lévy-Bruhl has expounded his theory in two works: *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, (Alcan), Paris, 3d ed., 1918, (Engl. tr., How natives think, Allen and Unwin, London, 1926); *La mentalité primitive*, *ibid.*, 1922, (Engl. tr., Primitive mentality, Macmillan, New York, 1923); cf. also his *The "soul" of the primitive*, tr., Macmillan, New York, 1928. For criticism of theory, see A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early civilization* (Knopf), New York, 1922, 380-89.

Relative racial mental studies are widely scattered. Source references for practically all the more important racial intelligence tests made up to 1924 may be found in: R. S. Woodworth, Comparative psychology of races, in *Psychological bulletin*, 1916, xiii, 388-97, giving outline and bibliography of studies, 1914-16; T. S. Garth, A review of racial psychology, *ibid.*, 1925, xxii, 343-64, giving outline to 1924 inclusive. For references to more recent studies, see current annual numbers of *Psychological index* (Psychological review company), Princeton, New Jersey. For critical interpretations of methods of racial testing, see: M. Mead, The methodology of racial testing, in *Amer. jour. of sociol.*, 1926, xxxi, 657-67; B. Lasker, Race attitudes in children (Holt), New York, 1929, 84-92; F. Boas, Anthropology and modern life (Norton), New York, 1928, 51-58. For critique of relations of culture to mentality, with review of literature of subject, see: M. M. Willey and M. J. Herskovits, Psychology and culture, in *Psychol. bull.*, 1927, xxiv, 253-83. For proposed technique for eliminating non-racial factors in racial intelligence testing see: G. H. Estabrooks, A proposed technique for the investigation of racial differences in intelligence, in *The American naturalist*, 1928, Ixii, 76-87; R. H. Lowie, Psychology, anthropology, and race, in *American anthropologist*, 1923, n.s. xxv, 291-303.

c. **General**, including emotional, sensory, and intellectual phases. Excellent short reviews of the whole field may be found in: A. L. Kroeber,

Anthropology, (Harcourt, Brace), New York, 1923, 70-86; A. M. Tozzer, Social origins and social continuities, (Macmillan), New York, 1926, 52-85. The mind of primitive man, by Franz Boas, (Macmillan), 1911, still remains one of the most balanced and sanest reviews of the whole field, although, when written, racial psychological testing had not advanced very far.

RACIAL MENTALITY AND THE MISSIONARY

REV. BERARD HAILE, O.F.M.

THE question of the mental capacity of the Indian is engaging the attention of investigators more and more. Is the Indian dissimilar in mentality and character to his white brother? Does he grasp readily what is proposed to him? Is he keen and alert? The average Westerner may consider it absurd to be placed on a plane with Indian tribes of his locality; in his estimate there can be no comparison between the two races.

My purpose is not to discuss this attitude, which is based on sentiment and racial prejudice rather than upon substantiated evidence, but to call attention to it as a factor in missionary life.

To say the least, the attitude of racial superiority ill fits our concept of a Catholic missionary. He is and should be a propagandist. But in this very ideal there is some danger of overlooking the fact that as a missionary he holds the belief of one true religion. Diametrically opposed to the missionary's belief, the Navaho, for instance, holds the opinion that his own religious concepts are adequate for all purposes. He is not a propagandist. On the contrary, he holds that the Navaho religion is for the Navaho, and, by equal right, the American's religion is for the American. His moral as well as religious code will greatly differ from that of the white man.

But while the missionary cannot ignore these differences, it seems to me important that they be borne in mind and studied. A mere gesture will not correct them. Nor do complacent security and dogmatic assertiveness remove difficulties; they rather increase them.

Extended observation of the Navaho has convinced me that we are dealing with men on a plane with our own mentality. Like ourselves, the Navaho will not be driven, and his complaints against importunate evangelizing and "tempestuous" religious propaganda are too human to be overlooked. On the other hand, where, as with us, religious instruction is gladly given whenever desired, one is apt to take for granted that the Indian will also freely ask for it.

In the earlier years of my activity I took this view and at times found it strange that inquiries on religion were comparatively rare, or, at least, made with a measure of reluctance. After familiarity increased, I one day casually asked why the Indians hesitated to ask about religion. Instead of an answer the Indian asked: "How much does it cost?" I realized what he

meant, but it taught me that I had not yet taken the Navaho view of the situation. In his mind I was a medicine man or "singer," and as they pay their "singers" for knowledge or instruction in native religion, he inferred that I also would make a charge.

The incident suggested to me not to take matters for granted but as far as possible to ascertain the Indians' view on subjects more or less unfamiliar to them. Perhaps missionaries among other tribes have had similar experiences.

CATHOLICS AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

CATHOLIC standing in the scientific field today is dependent not on Catholic scientific work in the past, but on present and prospective scientific work. Furthermore, such status is dependent not on absorptive scholarship but on productive scholarship, that is, upon original contributions made to the sum total of scientific knowledge.

It is certainly worth while to recall from time to time the long history of Catholic contributions to science and to review the extensive list of great Catholic scientists of the past. But when all is said and done Catholic standing in the scientific field is judged and depends not on what Catholics may have done in the past but on what they are doing today and on what they will do tomorrow. The question that is persistently asked by the scientific world today is not: "Is religion in harmony with science?" or "Has religion helped science in the latter's age-long quest for natural truth?" but rather "What are you as Catholics doing to promote science today, in this year of 1929?"

We may point with pride to our institutions of higher learning. But these are being judged less by the number of A.M.'s and Ph.D.'s they confer than by the exact amount of original research they are carrying on and by the new contributions they are making to human knowledge.

One of the chief objects of the Catholic Anthropological Conference has been to help marshal our Catholic resources in order to make research contributions to the science of man. Most modern research requires long study and great expenditure both of energy and finance. Under pressure as we have been to meet a thousand and one practical problems we have not usually been able to spare for research our men and women needed so urgently for other tasks. We have ordinarily been able to spare neither the personnel nor the finances for extensive research.

Here, however, in our far-flung mission fields we have not one but a thousand laboratories, not one but a thousand research specialists. To stimulate and increase the potential output of these laboratories and to get this output onto the scientific market and to place it at the disposal of the scientific world, all that is needed is a little in the way of organization, coaching and finance. It is to this task that the Catholic Anthropological Conference

is devoting its first attention. It is through this means that those who have banded together in the cooperative enterprise represented by the Conference expect to help the cause of a great human science and to help carry on under our present conditions and with our present opportunities the ancient and historic Catholic scientific tradition. This Catholic loyalty to science is the outgrowth of a fundamental Catholic principle that all truth is from God and to all truth is due loyalty and reverence as coming from Him to Whom we owe supreme loyalty and reverence.

LAND OWNERSHIP AND CHIEFTAINCY AMONG THE CHIPPEWAYAN AND CARIBOU-EATERS

REV. J. M. PENARD, O.M.I., Beauval, Saskatchewan

THE Déné tribe, called Montagnais by the Canadians and Chippewayan by the English, was known by the other tribes of the same family under the name of Caribou-eaters (*Edshenn eldeli*). Originally the Chippewayan tribe occupied the territory to the north of Lake Athabaska and Cree Lake; around Lac Caribou and Lac La Hache as far as the territories of the Yellowknives of the Coppermine, and of the Eskimo of Hudson Bay. To the east their territory extended all the way to Hudson Bay around the mouth of the Churchill River. On the south their tribal land marched with that of the Maskegon or eastern Cree along the Churchill River and with that of the northern or Woodland Cree on Lake Cree.

Since about three hundred years ago they have extended their territory considerably toward the south and west by their victory over the northern or Woodland Cree whom they have almost completely exterminated and of whom the survivors are found mixed with the new possessors in the conquered territory. Thus it has come about that the Chippewayan who have in great part emigrated from the territory north of Lac Caribou may now be said to have Cree Lake as the central point of their territory. They extend to the south all around Lac Ile à la Crosse, Lac Clair, Lac du Boeuf, Lac des Iles and Lac la Loche; to the west around Lake Athabaska, and along the river of the same name as far as Fort McMurray. To the southwest some of their colonies have even gotten as far as the territory of the Prairie Cree at Cold Lake and at Las de Coeur near Lac la Biche.

So far as I can make out from the numerous accounts given me by the old people of the tribe, their social and political condition has always been one of pure "anarchy." What I gather from the various accounts about the past and from that which still survived in their usages and customs when I first came in contact with them forty years ago, is that their constitution was the following.

The tribe occupied the above-mentioned territory. Agriculture was completely unknown among them. They made use of their territory for hunting and fishing which was their only means of subsistence.

It seems that the only sign of property recognized by them was the opening of a trap line (*Eltssouze tronloue*) in the middle of the forest. These trap lines are considered private property. One of their bitterest complaints against the white hunters who entered their territory is that they did not respect these trap lines. The opening up of such a trap line gave to the owner the exclusive right to set his traps and snares there for the capture of furbearing animals. If any one else set traps there the proprietor of the trap line had the right to break them and to appropriate whatever game he might chance to find caught in them. In case of dispute in a matter of this kind, it seems that force was the supreme argument, for I have never been able to find trace of any recognized tribunal to pass judgment in such cases.

There was a special regulation for beaver. The right to hunt them belonged to the man who was the first to discover a lodge, and to place thereon his mark, by planting a pole on it. This meant that the lodge had been discovered and a newcomer had no right to touch it. This custom is still observed among them, notwithstanding the disturbances brought about in this matter by the invasions of the white trappers who have no respect for the property marks of the Chippewayan.

However, if these beaver lodges were found in a hunting territory (*nalzhé nehnenkke*) recognized as belonging to a particular hunter, a stranger had not the right to appropriate them for himself.

These hunting territories (*nalzhé nehnenkke*) were determined by the limits of the trap line (*eltssouze tronloue*) in a country where there was game, ordinarily a small river encircled by lakes more or less large and more or less numerous. The extent of these territories which had no very precise limit was determined chiefly by the radius of wanderings of the proprietor, who took his station at the extreme tip of the trap line in his annual excursions. In all this territory the hunting of furbearing animals as well as of big game (moose and caribou) was the exclusive right of the owner of the territory. However, if a stranger started following a trail outside of the territory he had the right to continue to follow it until he caught up to the animal, and the animal belonged to him, even if he killed it in the territory of another man.

Among the Chippewayan there was no chief properly speaking. Each one hunted as he thought proper, provided he cut himself a trap line and built up his own hunting territory without intruding on the hunting territory of any one else. This custom gave rise to some disputes. These were ordinarily settled in an amicable manner; if not, it was force which settled the dispute.

However, it ordinarily happened that when some one proved that he was a good hunter, others made requests of him to join him and to hunt with him in his territory. Thus small bands were formed, and the owner of

the territory obtained the position of chief, indicating to each one where he was to hunt. The furs taken by trap or rifle or arrow, as well as the pelts of moose and caribou, belonged to the one who had taken or killed the animal. The meat, however, belonged to the whole band and the chief made distribution of it, without asking the consent of the man who had killed the animal.

If the chief was not satisfied with any of those who had thus joined him, he had the right to send them away and to prohibit them from following him. Likewise, any one who had joined was always free to separate himself from the band he had joined and either to put himself under the leadership of another chief or else to hunt on his own account.

At the death of the owner of a hunting territory or of a trap line, ordinarily one of his sons took over possession of it. This was not always the oldest son, but ordinarily the one who was regarded as the most capable of the sons or else the one to whom the father while yet living had given the territory. But if the deceased hunter had left only young orphans, their rights were regarded as nil and the first comer took possession of the trap line and territory without troubling himself to provide for the needs of these orphans. When these later grew up, the only means they had to enter into possession of their father's territory was to resort to force and this they ordinarily did.

In case of war, it is certain that the chiefs had more absolute and more definite authority than in time of peace. But I have never been able to discover how they were chosen or what precisely was their authority. The Chippewyan themselves seem to be completely ignorant in the matter. It is such a long time since they have made war on anybody! They are in fact just naturally peaceful and, except as regards women and orphans, they have an innate sentiment of justice,— so much so that theft was unknown among them before the white man came and by his example taught them thievery.

Moreover, if they have made deadly warfare on the Woodland Cree, the Maskegon, the Eskimo and the Yellow Knives, it appears that this was solely in self-defence or else in revenge for incursions of which the Chippewyan themselves had been the victims.

This is why, when the fortunes of war had made them masters of the territory of the Woodland Cree, they did not try to exterminate the unhappy remnants of this tribe, but permitted them to live peacefully in their midst. On the other hand, in order to avoid conflicts with the Maskegon, the Chippewyan abandoned almost completely the lower Churchill River; they also withdrew from the territory of the Eskimo on the east and from that of the Yellow Knives on the north. Thus they ended by forgetting so completely the art of war that they no longer recall even how they organized to

go into battle. Notwithstanding, I have never heard of them ever having had a disarmament conference!

They were not at all inhospitable to strangers, and if a stranger wished to settle peacefully among them they granted him permission to hunt and fish, provided he observed the Chippewyan usages and customs. Of all the aborigines of America, the Chippewyan are those among whom the white man has established himself most easily and most peacefully.

(Note—This short paper by Father Pénard, who has lived many years among the Chippewyan and who knows their culture and language thoroughly, gives us for the first time detailed information upon the little known land-owning customs of the Chippewyan and Caribou-eaters. Father Morice, a confrère of Father Pénard, has published such data on Carrier land-owning, and meager references to the subject occur in the works of Harmon (Cree or Chippewyan?), Simpson (Chippewyan), Goddard (Beaver), Emmons (Tahltan), as well as in a short communication by Father Lejacq (Carrier, Babine, Sikani) published in *Missions de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée*, 1874, xii, 348. This is about all of value that we have had to date upon land-owning among the eastern and western Déné, and, apart from Father Morice's accounts, it is extremely meager and unsatisfactory.

Furthermore, Father Pénard's account seems to show pretty clearly that a system of family land ownership, identical in its main outlines with the family hunting territories made familiar by the studies of Speck, Low, Davidson, and others among the Algonkian-speaking peoples of New England, Quebec, and Labrador, prevails among the Chippewyan and Caribou-eaters. Simpson's somewhat vague account of a century ago intimated family ownership of land among the Chippewyan. Father Pénard's detailed account seems to clinch the matter, for both Chippewyan and Caribou-eater culture. Moreover, taken in conjunction with the evidence from Morice, Lejacq, Simpson, Harmon, Goddard, and Emmons, and with the evidence from Richardson and from the sources cited by Speck (*Publ. Amer. sociol. soc.*, 1917, xii, 99), for family hunting territories or their equivalent among the Athapascans of the Mackenzie, of the upper Fraser, and Babine Lake, and of Alaska, and among some of the Eskimo and Northwest Coast Indians, this newer information from Father Pénard suggests strongly the probability that further investigation will show the family hunting territory to be more or less prevalent over most of the northern Canadian area. The writer has within the last three years found the system continuously prevalent from western Quebec, to the James Bay region, up the Albany to Lake St. Joseph, and around the Rainy River and Lake of the Woods districts. Waugh (MS. Notes) had earlier found it around Lac Seul. Inasmuch as it is almost certain that the system extends among the Ojibwa and Cree east and northeast of Lake Winnipeg (the writer hopes to determine this point the coming summer), Father Pénard's data extend our continuous dis-

tribution of the system about a thousand miles farther to the northwest than had been previously determined, and practically enables us to conclude to a total continuous distribution of the family hunting territory of about two thousand two hundred miles from Maine and Labrador to Great Slave Lake.

Any information in French or English on this question of land ownership from the Oblate and Jesuit missionaries of the Mackenzie, the sub-Arctic, and the Alaska areas, would be a valuable scientific contribution on an important and little known ethnological subject, and would be cordially welcomed for publication by the Catholic Anthropological Conference.—Editor.

NOTES ON THE KASKA AND UPPER LIARD INDIANS

By REV. E. ALLARD, O.M.I.

Lejac, B. C.

A. THE KASKA

THE Kaska Indians are a nomadic tribe of the great Déné (*Tin nih*) stock which inhabits the northern interior of British Columbia and the Mackenzie. According to my informant, the Kaska Indians were very numerous before the coming of the white man which took place about 1878, the time of the first gold rush in the Cassiar. Today the total population is 150. This population, however, includes not only the Kaska group, but also individuals from the neighboring nomadic tribes, namely, of the Upper Liard, Fort Grahame, Fort Nelson, and also a few from Fort McLeod and Bear Lake, British Columbia. These latter tribes are of the Déné stock, but are more generally called by the tribal name, Sekannai (*Si kan ni*). The Kaska language, so far as I could learn during my short stay with them and also from my informant, is very much the same as that of the neighboring Sekannai.

The Kaska occupy a territory that extends from Dease Lake down the Dease River to about twenty miles west of the Upper Liard River. Southeast of Dease Lake and Dease River their territory extends to lat. 58° by long. 126° ; northeast, to lat. 60° by long. 126° ; southwest to lat. $58^{\circ}8'$ by long. $130^{\circ}6'$; northwest, to lat. 60° by long. 131° . They now gather every summer around McDane Post of the Hudson's Bay Company, a trading post which was established about 1880 by a white man by the name of Sylvester. The Hudson's Bay Company took it over about 1900. It is on the north shore of the Dease River about eighty miles from the Lake.

The occupation of the natives consists in hunting and fishing. All members of the tribe are free to hunt and fish over all of the tribal territory. They hunt and fish in little bands of one, two or three families,—each family consisting of father, mother and children, with sometimes other members,

married or single. They hunt over one portion of the tribal territory for one, two, or three years according to conditions, and then they go to another portion of the territory to hunt.

Polygamy existed among them when they were all pagans. One man would take as many wives as conditions would allow. For instance, if he were a good hunter he would take more than one wife. When I visited the Kaska for the first time in 1925, I found no polygamy among them. This is to be attributed, I think, to the influence of the Catholic Indians with whom the pagan Kaska mingle. They had never seen a Catholic priest in their country, but being in their native state more moral than the other races of Indians, the influence of their brethren, the Si kan ni, led them easily to abandon polygamy. In 1925, I found only one case of a man who had left his wife, and in 1926 I found none at all who had done so.

The Kaska marry either within their own tribe or outside of it, but they seldom if ever marry outside of the Si kan ni tribes listed above. Parents seem to have more to say about the marriage of the young people than do the young people themselves. After marriage the young couple goes to live either with the family of the wife or with that of the husband.

The tribe is divided into sibs, such as Wolf (tsi yo nih), Crow (nis ka), Bear (sis), etc. The children inherit their clan membership sometimes from the mother, sometimes from the father. Those of the same sib are not allowed to marry each other.

The potlatch, such as is found, for instance, among the Babine Lake Indians and along the coast, seems never to have been much in honor among them. The only amusement that is popular now is an occasional dance.

Before the coming of the white man there were no chiefs, seemingly because of the nomadic character of these people. Their only government was the family or else the group or band of one, two or three families mentioned previously.

B. THE UPPER LIARD INDIANS

What has been said of the Kaska Indians of Dease River can be repeated of the Upper Liard Indians. The language of the latter is made up of the different dialects that have entered into the tribe, and is very similar to the Kaska and to the chief mother tongue, the Si kan ni.

The Upper Liard Indians are nomadic, belonging to the Déné (Tin nih) stock. They intermarry with the Fort Liard and Fort Simpson Indians in the Mackenzie area and also with the Indians of Fort Nelson, British Columbia. They must therefore be a mixture of Si kan ni, Beaver and Slave Indians.

The actual population of the Upper Liard Indians is about eighty. I am informed that a few years ago it was two or three times as great. These Indians stopped gathering around Liard Post because they did not like the manager of the Post. A certain number of them have gone back

to the Mackenzie, Fort Simpson, Fort Liard, and also Fort Nelson. Others have gone to trade with a free trader at the head of the Pelly River (Yukon). As these Indians are a nomadic type and have had as yet no missionary among them, this account of their earlier population and recent history while basically true may be somewhat exaggerated. However, from what I have learned I should judge that the population a few years ago must have been double what it is now.

The territory occupied by the Upper Liard Indians extends to either side of the Upper Liard River. They generally gather each summer for a few weeks around Liard Post, the Hudson's Bay Company Post located on the north bank of the Upper Liard River about seventy miles from its head. This post also was established by Sylvester about 1890 and was taken over by the Hudson's Bay Company about 1900.

As regards their economic life, that is, their hunting and fishing customs, this is the same as obtains among the Kaska Indians.

As to religion, I have been unable to obtain any data as to the conditions that prevailed when they were pagans. When I visited them in 1925 I found a few of them already baptized and married by our missionaries in the Mackenzie. There was no case of polygamy in 1925. There was, however, one case of a man who had not supported his wife and children and who had been abandoned by them. The Upper Liard marry into the groups mentioned previously.

The tribe is divided into sibs as among the Dease River Indians, and their government or lack of it is the same as among the Dease River Kaska.

The Upper Liard Indians have the reputation of being addicted to witchcraft. In times of evil or of bad luck they will suspect one or more members of their tribe as the cause of the evil which has befallen them. The suspected individuals are punished and are often done away with.

In the foregoing scattered notes I have said nothing of the band that now gathers around Telegraph Creek, which is made up of Thaltan and Indians from Bear Lake, B. C. They also are of the Déné (Tin nih) stock, and, like the Kaska Indians and the Indians of The Upper Liard, they are still more or less nomadic. Their language is very much the same as that of the Kaska and Upper Liard bands. Their actual population is about 200. Of these about half are Catholic and the other half Protestant. The Catholic Indians had seen the priest at Stuart Lake and Bear Lake before they began coming to Telegraph Creek which is nearer to Thaltan where most of their relatives come from. An Anglican minister has been in residence at Thaltan for about 35 years.

SACRIFICES AMONG THE BAGO-IGOROT

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THE present paper consists of some notes on sacrifices and kindred rites as practiced among the Bago-Igorot of Northern Luzon, Philippine Islands. The types of sacrifice are many. In this paper are given brief descriptions of some of the more important types. The Lepanto-Bontoc dialect is the prevalent tongue.

I. Begnas

A week before the celebration of the *begnas* all the *lallakay*, or old men, meet together. One among them, usually the oldest one, designates the day on which the *begnas* will be held. From that time on, all the women are kept busy making *tapuy*, or rice wine. On the eve of the day of the *begnas* the old men and *babaket* (the old women) gather together in the slaughtering place (*patpatayan*) where several chickens and pigs are killed. Killing chickens and pigs in the *patpatayan* is called *sedey*. This properly means a charm to drive away evil spirits, to frighten robbers, and to escape illness. When the pigs and chickens have been killed, the old men lay aside the liver and gall of the pigs, the head of the chickens, and the rooster's comb. The liver, gall, chicken's head, and rooster's comb are deposited in a wooden vessel (*latok*). An old man (*lakay*) carries the wooden vessel to the meeting place (*abung*) where several of the old men invoke the blessing of the Deity. At dawn on the morning of the *begnas*, several of the old men and a couple of boys go to the river and take a bath. This is called *taguitag*. While all are bathing the priest performs the ceremony of *labeg*, a rite of victory. This he does by taking the *itay* (a piece of meat left over from the last *begnas*) from the *opit* (a little basket) of the *abung*. If this basket falls into the water there will be a flood in the near future. On arriving at the *abung* the priest repeats the rite of victory after which he consumes the remnants of the food left over from the day before. Then he places a head, a hand with fingers, and bones from enemies killed in the days of yore, in a flat basket, called *bigao*. This done, all dance gaily around the *abung*. The women take their babies with them, as it is believed that babies who are carried around the *abung* at *begnas* time will grow to old age. After this, two of the old men, one armed with a spear and the other with a shield, begin a dance. After these preliminaries all join in the dance.

Next, while the women and young people remain in the *abung*, the old men go joyfully in a group from house to house, chanting victory and the promise of a good harvest. This ceremony is called *dao'es*. In every house to which the old men go, the owners kill a pig or a chicken which is eaten either in the house itself or in the *abung*.

When the old men have finished visiting all the houses, the *begnas* proper is over.

Immediately after the *begnas*, however, they perform another ceremony called *obaya* (holyday). No one except the priest of the bario is allowed to perform this rite. In the *obaya* ceremony all the old men are gathered in the *abung*. The old priest growls something between his teeth that most of the men do not understand and then offers the sacrifices to Lumaoig, thanking him for benefits which he has bestowed and beseeching him to cast away from the bario all sickness and evil spirits. He closes his prayers to Lumaoig by begging his supreme protection against robbers. Lumaoig is the son of Kabunian and has the same attributes as his father. He is merciful and just. Lumaoig came down to earth from on high to teach men the *sapo*, the Igorot prayer offered to Lumaiog.

During the days that follow,—three days or a week, depending on the inspiration of the *apo lakay*, (Sir Old Man),—everybody is forbidden to leave the bario or hamlet or to do any kind of work. Anyone who disregards this *ngilin* or sanctification precept is haled before all the old men who in such cases are not very merciful.

II. Mangmang

Mangmang means properly the calling together of all the members of a family to enjoy the meat that is sacrificed. The *mangmang* sacrifice is performed for many purposes. The *mangmang* carried out before planting rice is the sacrifice of a chicken or a pig to Lumaoig so that the rice may grow well and may be protected from *seba* (destroyers). *Mangmang* after planting rice is the sacrifice of a chicken or a pig to Lumaoig so that the *ab'abit*, or souls of the people who worked in the field, may go home. A chicken is well suited for this purpose, as the smell of the burnt feathers of the chicken is the means par excellence to bring the souls homewards.

Mangmang before a person sets out on a journey consists of the sacrifice of a chicken for the purpose of observing the gall. If the gall projects too far from the liver, this is a sign that the traveller will have plenty of food and will be able to make purchases cheaply but that he will have a perilous journey.

If the gall projects only a little from the liver, the journey will be a happy one, for there will be few perils, though food will be scarce. If the gall bladder is exactly covered by the liver there will be no danger at all, but the traveller will be unlucky in his business affairs. This last is called *buisset*.

Mangmang performed on the arrival back home after a journey is a sacrifice of thanksgiving to the Deity after a lucky trip.

Mangmang performed after the roof of a house is framed, has the purpose of charming the evil spirits that might remain on the roof; for the popular belief is that the evil spirits remain on a newly built roof. After any kind of *mangmang* they put in the corner of the balcony a bundle of rono or bamboo with the feathers of a chicken tied on it.

The following is the Igorot prayer, with interlinear translation, which is said during the performance of the *mangmang*. This is the first time that the authentic text of this prayer uttered by the pagan priest has been secured.

Wadá canós Kabúnián men-te-te-éd tondó. Binángayna kano ipugáo isnán
 God is on high. He created the men in this
 batáoa. Dana pay cano todoan dayda. As an-nóng aya-két adí-dapay
 world. Then He taught them what to do. But they did not do the duty
 get-kén ay am-ma-án nan an-nóng inet-dón Kabúnián Umét abés-say ma-
 that was taught them by Kabunian. Although they ate
 las-la-só-lat di ka-indá. Minsamáda aya-két adí masikén. Aya-
 they did not get strong. They planted but (plants) did not grow. Also
 két ma-ioéd kanó kata-gó-oan-da. Sadá pay kanó men-ad-adá-oag, ane-
 they got nothing to eat. Then they prayed, sighing: Miserable
 yak-káy iná-yan ka-se-ség-ang-kami ay ipugáo. Saét nato-ngég kanós Ka-
 people are we. Then Kabunian grew tired
 búnián. Kanána kanó oén lomayogák kad isnán baguilolótá na in-
 hearing them. He said: I go down to earth to see the people I
 nák ilan-nán bi-ná-ngayko-oay ipugáo. Sapay kano umey sana pay kano
 created. Then He goes down and said:
 kanan: Sino-ngen mangala ken dakayo-ay da-dama nan ada-oag-yo?
 Who is bothering you (taking you) that you sob so much?
 Kanána kanó den ipugáo ay ti-nom-ba-áy iná-yan mam pay dakami ay
 The men said answering that they were in bad condition for we plant
 ipugáo-oay mensamá-kami aya-két adí masikén nan pay maioéd kata-gó-oan-mi.
 and the plants do not grow. So we have nothing to eat.
 Sapáy naka-kuáni si Kabúnián: Siáman ta adiyo manpáy am-ma-án nan
 Then Kabunian said: Yes, because you did not fulfil what I taught you
 initdók ken dakayó. Bakén pudnó oadáy manokyó, aláenyo ta todoán
 to do. But if you have chicken, take it, slaughter it, and I
 kayó abés ikamán-yo. Sada pay kanó alán san manók, sada pay canó
 shall teach you. So the people took one chicken and slaugh-
 mangmá-ngen. Ipedesánda pay canó yá, men-amáy san pedés-na.
 tered it. So they had to see the gall and saw that it was placed nicely.
 Sadá umát abés ken dakayó oad-oadá-nan ab-abi-it yo mo siasiasá-is
 Always do this which I taught you for your spirits' sake, so that at the
 ekamányo aoék sak-én di umaliyán-yo mo malibog kayós sinan batáoa.
 end of the world you may be able to come to me, always offer me
 siásá-ét no oaday isóntona sak-én ney Kabúnián di pange-po-po-ónanyo.
 this sacrifice.

III. Sing'a

The *sing'a* is of two kinds. The ordinary *sing'a* is what we might call a sacred family dinner. At this dinner the old men and all the members of the family are called upon to enjoy the meat so that their ancestors may intercede for them and procure them prosperity in their future life.

The other type of *sing'a* takes place when a family moves from an old house to a new one. On this occasion they kill chickens and pigs which they offer to Lumaog so that he will protect them against robbers and evil spirits and grant them prosperity and plenty of children. The old men address prayers to the roof and walls of the house to protect the dweller therein against the heat of the sun and against the wind and rain. The transfer from an old house to a new one is called *dumeg* or *baskang*.

IV. Bagat

The *bagat* is the most important among the *caniao*,—*caniao* being the generic name for religious rite or sacrifice. *Bagat* means the *caniao* held on the occasion of the celebration of a marriage.

Before the celebration of the *bagat*, both the betrothed are kept busy for a month preparing all that will be needed. Five days before the celebration, they send messengers to the surrounding barrios or hamlets to notify the guests and to invite them to attend the *bagat*. On the eve of the wedding a rite called *bedded* is performed. This consists in killing a small pig in the *abung*. It is believed that when this small pig is killed in the *abung* the souls of the departed relatives will come to assist at the *bagat*. After the pig is killed the old men eat it and then they all go together to the house, where they kill a chicken in each corner. The old priest offers these chickens to Lumaog so that evil spirits will be driven away from the house.

Some people, after the sacrifice of the chickens, kill a pig in front of the granaries as a charm against robbers. They also pray to Lumaog that their ancestors, brothers and sisters may fill these granaries with an abundant harvest next year and that the rice may not be "easily eaten up." As for this last expression it may be recalled that rice can be *naugao* or *nalamí*. No matter whether you harvest much or little rice, if it is *nalamí* it will not last long.

After these preliminaries the young couple set out for their new house. The bride carries a basket of rice while the bridegroom carries some meat of the pig that has been killed. Throughout the whole night all of the people have a merry time; native refreshments, special dishes, and dances help greatly to make the occasion a success.

In the morning several pigs and chickens are killed in front of the house. The first pig killed is put aside in a small cabin. The priest lays the killed pig upon a wooden vessel called *batíá*. He does this so that Lumaog will favor the young couple with a good harvest each year. After the priest has done this he hangs *patópat* under the *batíá*. *Patópat* is considered a food of divine origin; in fact, it was with *patópat* that Lumaog fed the whole world. Under

the *patópat* the priest puts a cauldron filled with cooked rice. This food, called *átang* is offered to the ancestors and departed relatives. Right after this, the other pigs and chickens are killed and all of them are offered to Lumaoig so that the young couple and their offspring may neither quarrel nor dispute. For the rest of the day the program consists in eating, drinking, smoking, chewing, joking, and dancing.

In the meantime the young couple goes to a shaded place prepared alongside of the house. After they have taken their seats the priest enters. In front of the couple are three small plates. The first is filled with rice, and the second with money or gold, while the third holds three *bátek* or native beads. Then the priest says the *sapo* prayer which may be compared in a measure to the performance of the marriage ceremony. No one touches the three plates. A fourth plate is put in front of the latter. The people then come to greet the young couple and make them gifts of money, blankets, *sag'ot* (spinning thread), rice, and *palay* (unpounded rice). A man makes a list of the gifts and of the donors thereof. This list is handed over to the young couple so that when one of the donors in turn gets married the young couple will present him or her with a gift the equal of the one he or she has given to them.

After this the pig that was put aside the day before is prayed over. This ceremony is called the *sagaosao*. The family consumes the meat of this pig and no one else may eat it. Thus the *bagat* comes to an end. For a fortnight or longer, however, neither bride nor bridegroom leaves the house. Friends will keep them provided with water and the plentiful supply of rice left in the house will furnish them with food.

A *caniao* called *namettacán* (meaning freedom) brings the *ñgilin* or festivity to a close. The *namettacán* consists in the killing of a chicken and of several pigs. All the people come to enjoy this closing event. After this there is a monthly remembrance for the ensuing year until the first anniversary of the *bagat*, and this puts an end to the marriage celebration.

V. Sangbo

This type of *caniao* is held when an old man or woman is sick. Some one kills a pig in the presence of all the relatives, and a man or woman whom they call *mannafo* will examine the *petés* or gall bladder. From the examination of the gall bladder the diviner will be able to tell whether or not the sick person is going to recover or to die.

VI. Nanagdegan, Gaoa, and Namanponan

These three ceremonies or *caniao* are those performed in case of death. The ceremony performed at the death of a small child is similar to that performed at the death of an adult. When a person is dying, a chicken is killed. This is the *nanagdegan*. The meat is eaten without any prayer being said over it. The midnight following the death of the person, another chicken is killed. This is called *gaoa*. Like the *nanagdegan*, the *gaoa* is a prayerless

ceremony. When the dead person is about to be buried the relatives kill a pig and a chicken. The priest prays over both victims to Lumaoig beseeching him that the soul of the deceased be taken into his custody and that he allow it to enter into heaven. When the person is buried a rooster is taken and let fly over the grave. Sometimes the rooster is buried with the body, for they believe that the soul of the departed will ride on the flying rooster. The entrance of heaven is with difficulty reached, owing to the fact that an immense abyss surrounds it and that the entrance of heaven is shut. The rooster will crow and thus give notice that a soul is waiting. Then the door will open and the soul waiting on the flying rooster will be granted admittance. The parents, however, do not forget to give the soul the much-needed *balon* (cooked rice) so that the departed soul may have a good trip and have something to eat during the long journey.

The requirements for entrance into heaven are the following: Happy rest is granted to him who has prayed and offered to Lumaoig either pigs or chickens—the only animals used in sacrifice—during his stay on earth. If a man fails to pray and to offer pigs and chickens to Lumaoig he will not be admitted into the resting place of Lumaoig, and as a punishment the soul or spirit will wander about without being granted any rest.

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